

Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01

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FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7760

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

C O N F I D E N T I A L JAKARTA 4875

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

EO 11652: GDS

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SUBJ: INDONESIA AND INDOCHINA

REF: A. JAKARTA 4554 B. TOKYO 4850

1. INDONESIAN REACTION TO COLLAPSE IN INDOCHINA SO FAR
MEASURED AND SOMBRE. FOLLOWING IS OUR ESTIMATE OF EFFECT
IN THREE MAJOR AREAS: INTERNAL POLICIES, EXTERNAL POLICIES;
AND RELATIONS WITH UNITED STATES.

2. INTERNAL POLICIES: ALTHOUGH GOI HAS ALWAYS BEEN
SKEPTICAL OF DURABILITY INDOCHINESE REGIMES, COLLAPSE CAME
MUCH SOONER THAN THEY EXPECTED. THESE EVENTS AND REVIVAL
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OF INSURGENCY IN MALAYSIA AND THAILAND HAVE AWAKENED

FEARS OF RENEWED EFFORTS BY COMMUNIST ELEMENTS AND SYMPATHIZERS WITHIN INDONESIA. (OF PREVIOUS 3,000,000 MEMBERS OF INDONESAN COMMUNIST PARTY ONLY RELATIVELY SMALL PERCENTAGE EITHER IMPRISONED OR KILLED). FIRST PRIORITY PREOCCUPATION OF LEADERSHIP LIKELY BE INTERNAL SECURITY, ALTHOUGH WHAT LINES THIS LIKELY TAKE STILL UNCLEAR.

3. CONVENTIONAL WISDOM OF ONDONESIAN LEADERSHI IS THAT SUBVERSION CAN BEST BE MET BY STRONG INTERNAL SECURITY MEASURES SUPPLEMENTED BY SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION DEVELOPMENT PLANS. THEY HAD HOPED HAVE MORE TIME COMPLETE IMPLEMENTATION DEVELOPMENT PLAN BEFORE INDOCHINESE COLLAPSE. HOW THEY CAN REALISTICALLY ACCELERATE DEVELOPMENT LESS CLEAR; CURRENT FINANCIAL SQUEEZE LIKELY SLOW RATHER THAN SPEED DEVELOPMENT IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE. WE CAN EXPECT, AT MINIMUM, GREATER SENSITIVITY TO REDUCTIONS IN CONCESSIONAL AID AND ACCELERATED SEARCH FOR NEW SOURCES AID, INCLUDING EASTERN EUROPE.

4. ALTHOUGH FREQUENT CRITICS OF FAILURE OF THIEU REGIME TO GAIN SUPPORT OF PEOPLE, THERE IS SO FAR LITTLE SELF-EXAMINATION BY INDONESIAN LEADERSHIP OF THEIR OWN PROBLEMIN THIS AREA, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT OSTENTATION AND CORRUPTION. WHILE OTHERS OUTSIDE REGIME BEGINNING TO DISCUSS THESE FACTORS MORE OPENLY, REGIME MEMBERS LARGELY CONTINUING OLD WAYS.

5. EXTERNAL POLICIES: WE DO NOT FORESEE ANY SHARP DIVERGENCE FROM BASIC INDONEAAN FOREIGN POLICIES WHICH GIVE PRIORITY TO ASEAN RELATIONS, JAPAN, AUSTRALIA AND IGGI COUNTRIES. MOVES TOWARD EASTERN EUROPE ALREADY BEGUN FOR ECONOMIC REASONS; WE DO NOT ENVISION SIMILAR MOVES AT THIS TIME IN OTHER FIELDS(EG CULTURAL, POLITICAL). GOI LIKELY FOLLOW WAIT AND SEE POLICY ON RECOGNITION NEW REGIMES IN INDOCHINESE STATES, PERHAPS LAGGING BEHIND THEIR ASEAN PARTNERS IN FORMAL RECOGNITION. THEY WILL GENERALLY SEEK AVOID PROBLEMS WITH NEW COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP AND ACCOMODATE TO EXTENT ACCOMODATION WILL NOT THREATEN THEIR OWN SECURITY. THEY HAVE ONE LATENT PROBLEM WITH ANY NEW SOUTH CONFIDENTIAL

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VIETNAM STATE IN LONG-STANDING OFFSHORE OIL DISPUTE. THEY ARE WORRIED ABOUT LARGE QUANTITY US ARMS LEFT BEHIND IN INDOSHINA. RESERVATIONS ON CHINA WILL CONTINUE;THEY STILL SEE CHINESE RELATIONS RELATED TO THEIR DOMESTIC PROBLEMS. THEY WILL AVOID FURTHER INITIATIVES VIS A VIS IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES DEEMED TO BE AGAINST BASIC NON-ALIGNED TENENTS(EG, KHMER REPRESENTATION IN UN); ADAM MALIK AND DEPLU WILLCONTINUE ECHO THIRD WORLD SENTIMENTS BUT MAY AT TIMES

BE SOMEWHAT OUT OF STEP WITH MILITARY LEADERSHIP.

6. UNITED STATES: INDONESIANS HAVE NEVER FULLY RESOLVED PUBLIC ASSERTION OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND SELF-RELIANCE WITH BASIC FEELING OF WEAKNESS AND NEED FOR STRONG, BUT QUIET, OUTSIDE SUPPORT. UNITED STATES HAS FILLED THIS LATTER NEED FOR SUHARTO REGIME, ALTHOUGH OUR SUPPORT FOR SECURITY BEYOND ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS NEVER SPELLED OUT. CONGRESSIONAL INACTION ON INDOCHINA, APPARENT INEFFECTIVENESS OF EXECUTIVE WITH CONGRESS, COMBINED WITH ATTITUDE MANIFESTED IN CONGRESS ON AID AND TRADE WITH INDONESIA HAVE CAUSED DOUBTS REGARDING RELIABILITY OF US AS PARTNER OF FREE NATIONS IN SEA. THIS IS PERHAPS MOST SERIOUS RESULT, FROM OUR STANDPOINT, OF INDONESIA EVENTS AS SEEN HERE. NEVERTHELESS, HOPE REMAINS THAT US EXTRICATED FROM INDOCHINESE DILEMMA WILL NOW CONCENTRATE MORE ON RELATIONS WITH AND HELPING BUILD-UP NON-COMMUNIST STATES IN SEA; THERE IS STILL FEELING INDONESIA AND OTHER NON-COMMUNIST STATES IN ASIA HAVE NO REAL ALTERNATIVE TO CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN, AUSTRALIA AND WESTERN POWERS, INCLUDING US. NEWSOM

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